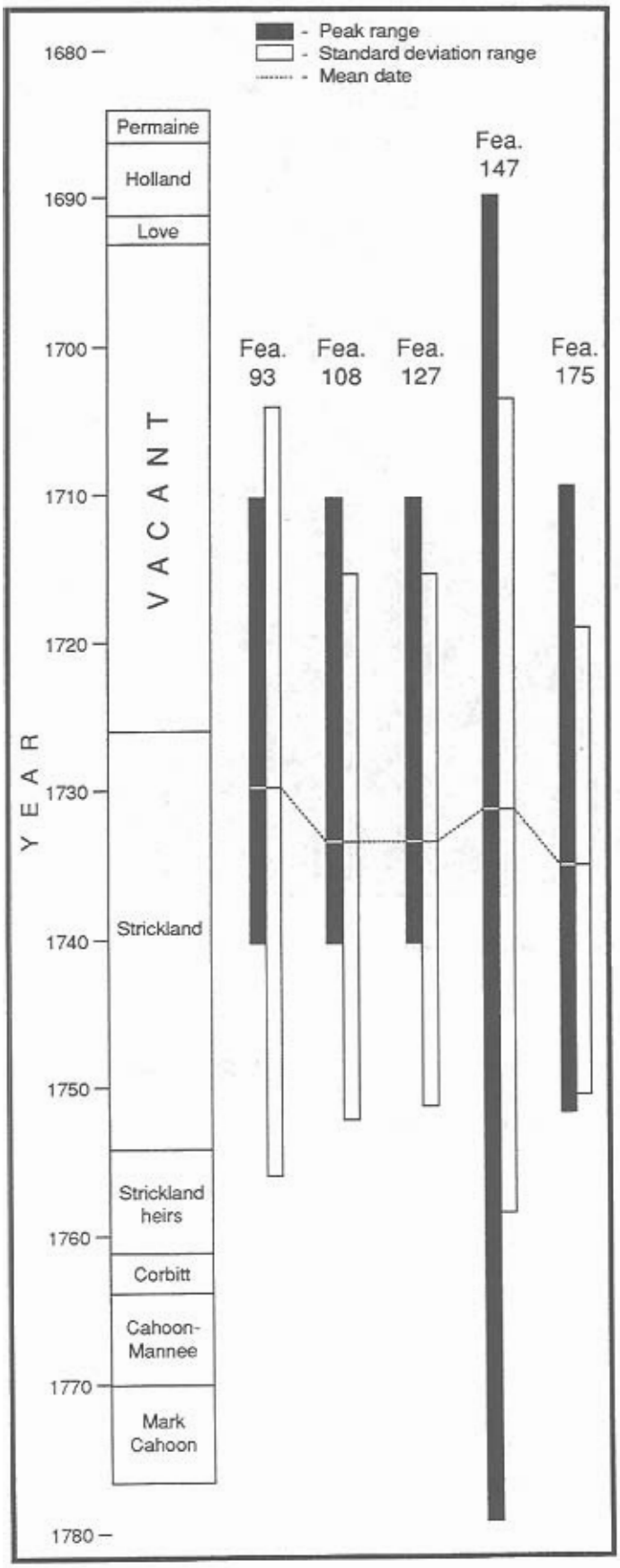
FIGURE 37

Household Data Chart



INTRASITE ANALYSES AND INTERPRETATIONS

In this section of the report, analyses of the plow zone artifact distributions and soil chemical sampling will be presented, followed by interpretations of the site utilizing the results of these tests, and data derived from both archaeological and historical investigations. First, however, some chronological considerations are necessary.

The historically-documented occupation of the site up to ca. 1830 can be divided into five periods: 1) the late seventeenth century occupations by, successively, Pearman, Holland, and Love; 2) the decades of the early eighteenth century when the property was apparently vacant; 3) the Strickland occupation from circa 1726 until his death in 1753; 4) the brief period when the land was owned by the Strickland's heirs; 5) and the ownership by Thomas Cahoon and tenant occupation by Peter Mannee. Based on the archaeological evidence recovered from plow zone and feature contexts, the occupation of the excavated site spans a fairly short duration of about 25 years, dating from circa 1730 to circa 1755. Following the work of Mrozowski (1984) a household data chart was prepared (Figure 37) for the deep features. This figure plots the known historical chronology of site household occupation periods along with the peak date ranges of the mean ceramic dates. A one standard deviation range of dates is also plotted. Figure 37 illustrates the relationships among the features at the site, and indicates that each of these features is related to the same general occupation period at the site. Indeed, four of the features (Features 93, 108, 127, and 175) have the same peak ranges, and Feature 147 has a longer peak range of 1710-1780.

Overall, the period illustrated by these data coincides with the occupation of the property by William Strickland, his family, and his slaves. The known earlier occupation (from 1684 to 1730) and the later Peter Mannee occupation (circa 1765 to 1780s) were unfortunately not represented archaeologically at the site, and will not be discussed further.

Plow Zone Artifact Distributions

The artifacts that were collected from the 25% plow zone sample were plotted according to the frequencies with which they occurred across the site. The purpose for this analysis is to determine intrasite yard proxemics and usage. The Strickland occupation of the site represents a single household's use of the land and buildings; therefore, the artifact distributions should be reflective of that household's spatial use behavior during the period between circa 1726 and 1755.

Initial distribution maps were generated by computer and covered seven broad categories of artifacts: architectural, food remains, ceramics, glass, tobacco pipes, gunflints, and buttons. Within the architectural category, maps were prepared of brick, window glass, and nail distributions. In the food remains category, maps were made of bone and shell distributions. Ceramic maps included the total distribution of ceramics, and specific maps of porcelain, redware, Staffordshires (including agateware and manganese mottled wares), stonewares (including English brown stonewares, white salt-glazed stonewares, and Rhenish wares), and tin-glazed wares. Separate maps were prepared of table glass and bottle glass, and of tobacco pipes and gunflint distributions. Many of these maps showed plow zone artifact concentrations over the biggest features that contained the most subsurface artifacts. While these distributions show that the plow zone artifact distributions reflect subsurface feature distributions, they do not reveal much about historic yard use and proxemics. Therefore, only the maps that showed meaningful distributions are discussed and presented below.

The distribution of brick fragments (by weight), shown in Figure 38, displays three distinct peaks, each associated with one of the major structures at the site. Structure I has a massive amount of brick associated with the northern end of the building, centered above Feature 147 (cellar), that climbs to a peak above the daub pit/unfinished cellar (Feature 175). Structure II (smokehouse) has a sharp peak centered above the cellar associated with that building, and a smaller concentration along the southern wall. A massive peak of brick is located within Structure III (kitchen/quarter) midway through the building, dividing the building in half, and extending along the eastern side of the structure where the possible wattle and daub chimney was situated. All three of these concentrations confirm suspected chimney locations based on features within Structures I-III.

The distributions of bone and teeth and shell are shown in Figures 39 and 40. Two concentrations of bone and shell are centered over large features in Structures I and II, and are not very enlightening. However, there is a concentration of bone and teeth southeast of Well 2 (Feature 93) on the opposite side of a workyard fence, and a concentration of shell near the trash pit features. These concentrations may indicate special food refuse disposal areas.

The distribution of the total count of ceramics recovered from the plow zone is shown in Figure 41. Several concentrations of ceramics are shown including a very high peak west of the smokehouse (Structure II), a general concentration associated with the trash pits along the western fenceline, a smaller concentration south of the fence beyond the Well 2 (Feature 93), a large concentration associated with the features comprising Structure I (the cellar and the borrow pit), and a concentration in the south half of the kitchen/quarter (Structure III). As was the case for bone, teeth, and shell, special trash disposal areas southeast of Well 2 and along the eastern fenceline are indicated. Plots of individual ceramic types, bottle and table glass, and pipes show similar distributions and are not illustrated here.

FIGURE 38

Distribution of Brick in Plow Zone

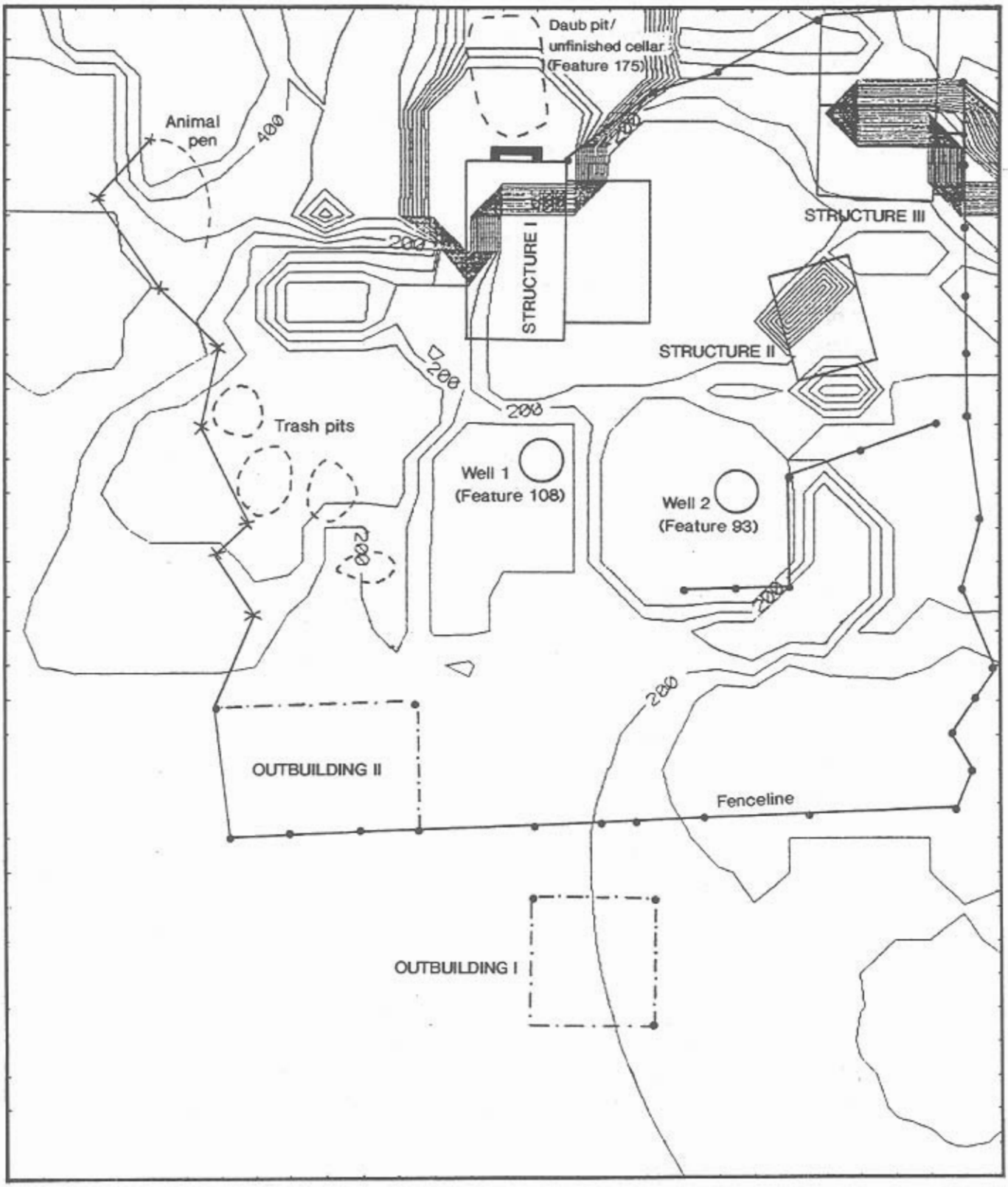


FIGURE 39

Distribution of Bone and Teeth in Plow Zone

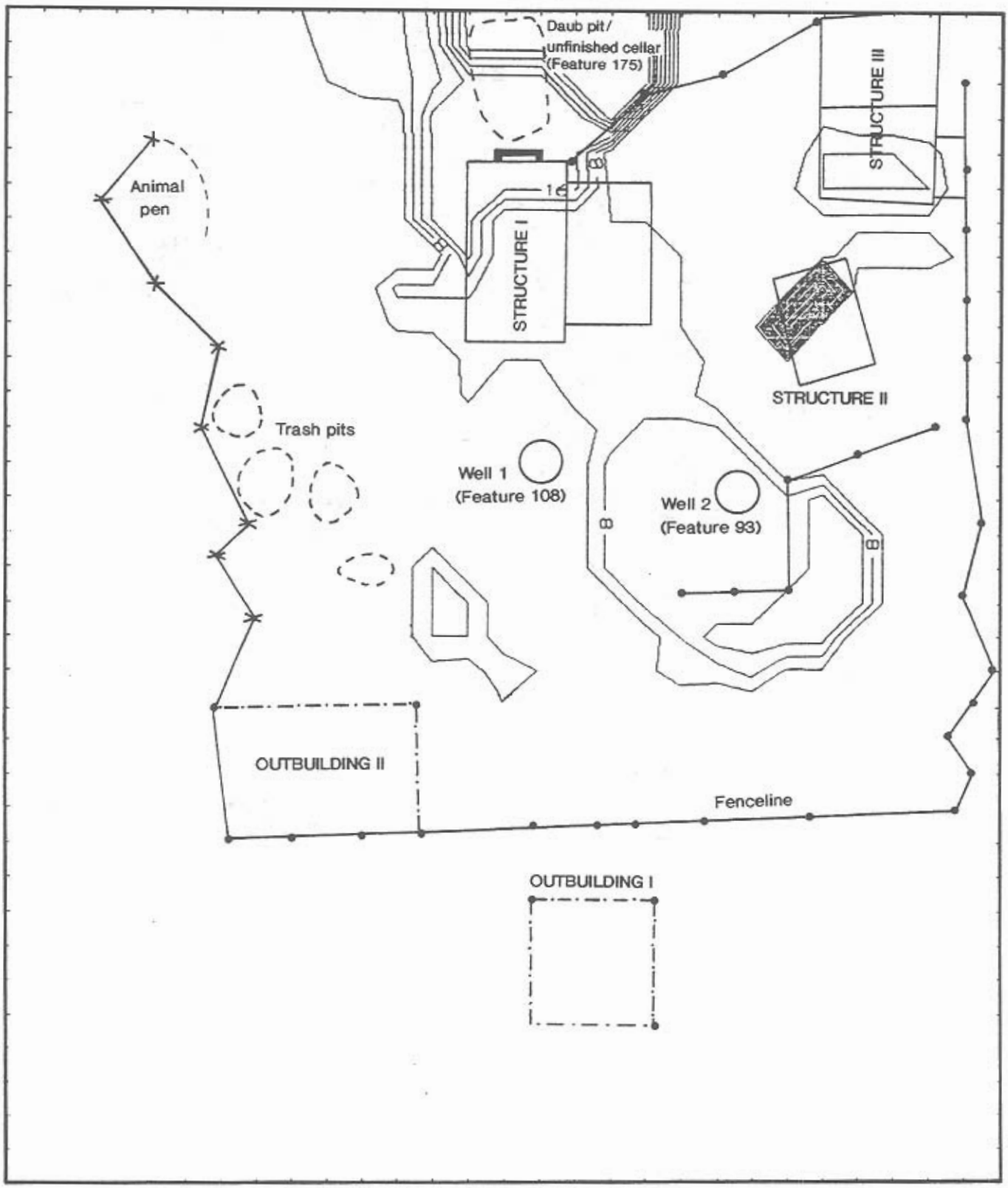


FIGURE 40

Distribution of Shell by Weight in Plow Zone

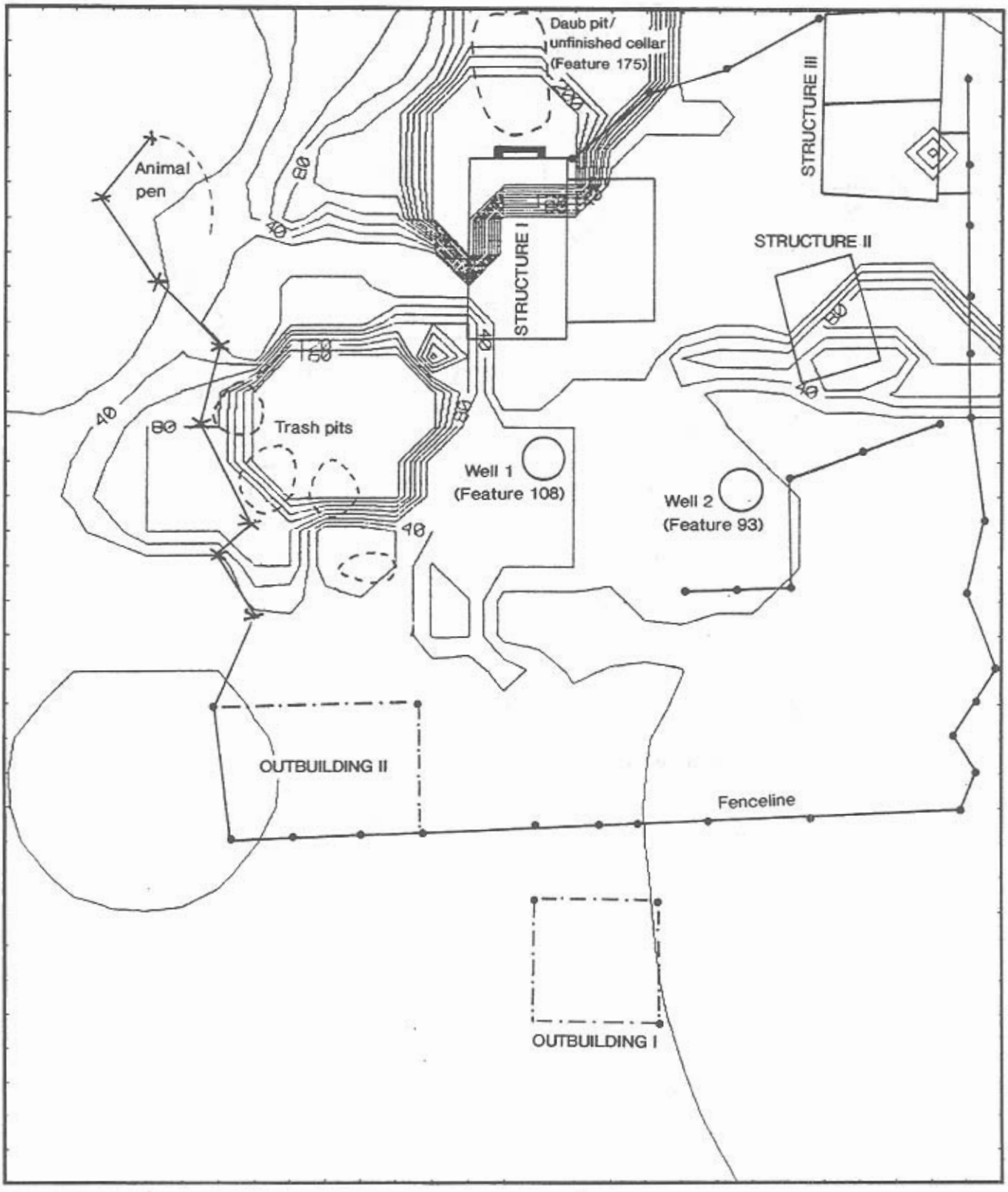


FIGURE 41

Distribution of Ceramics in Plow Zone

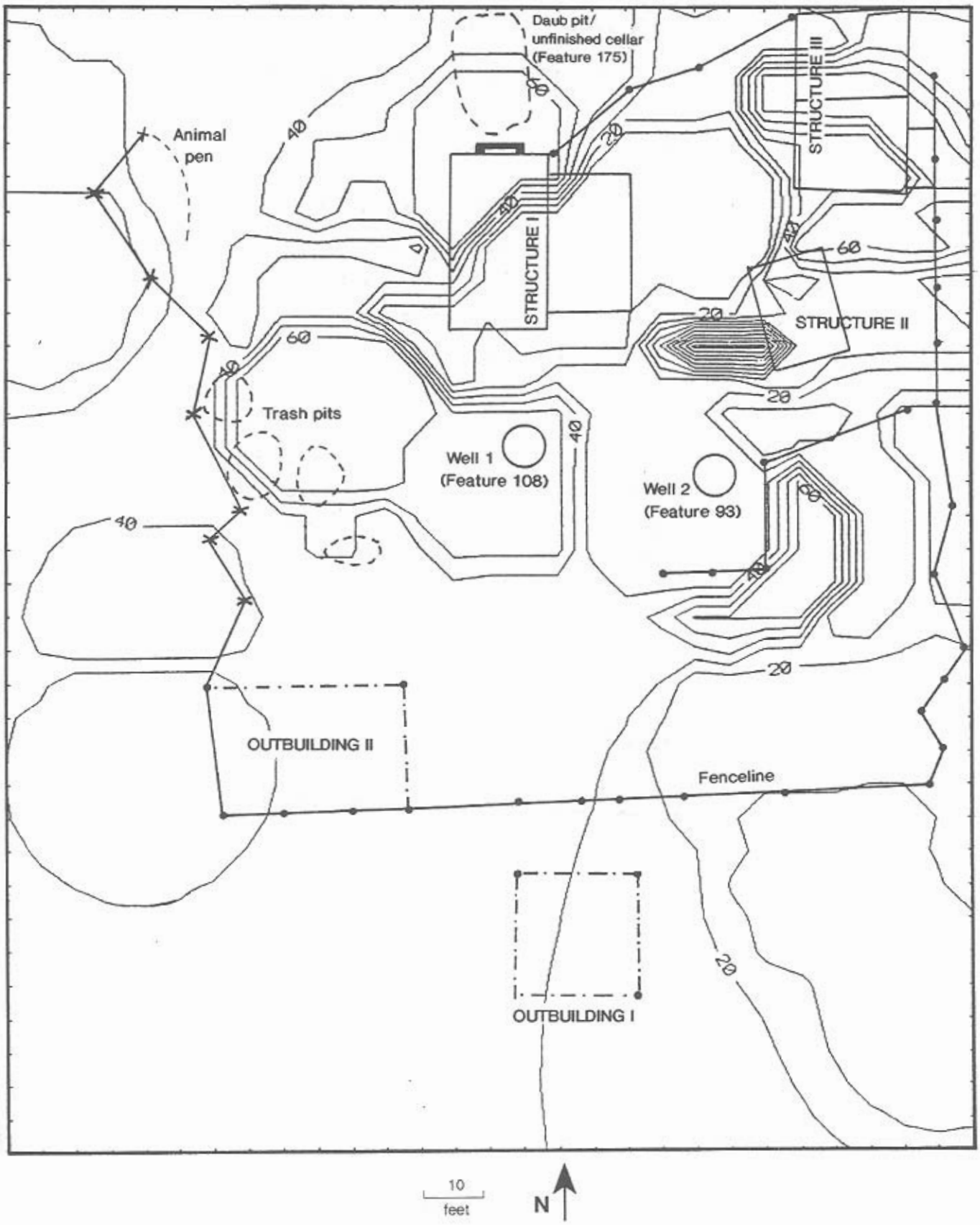
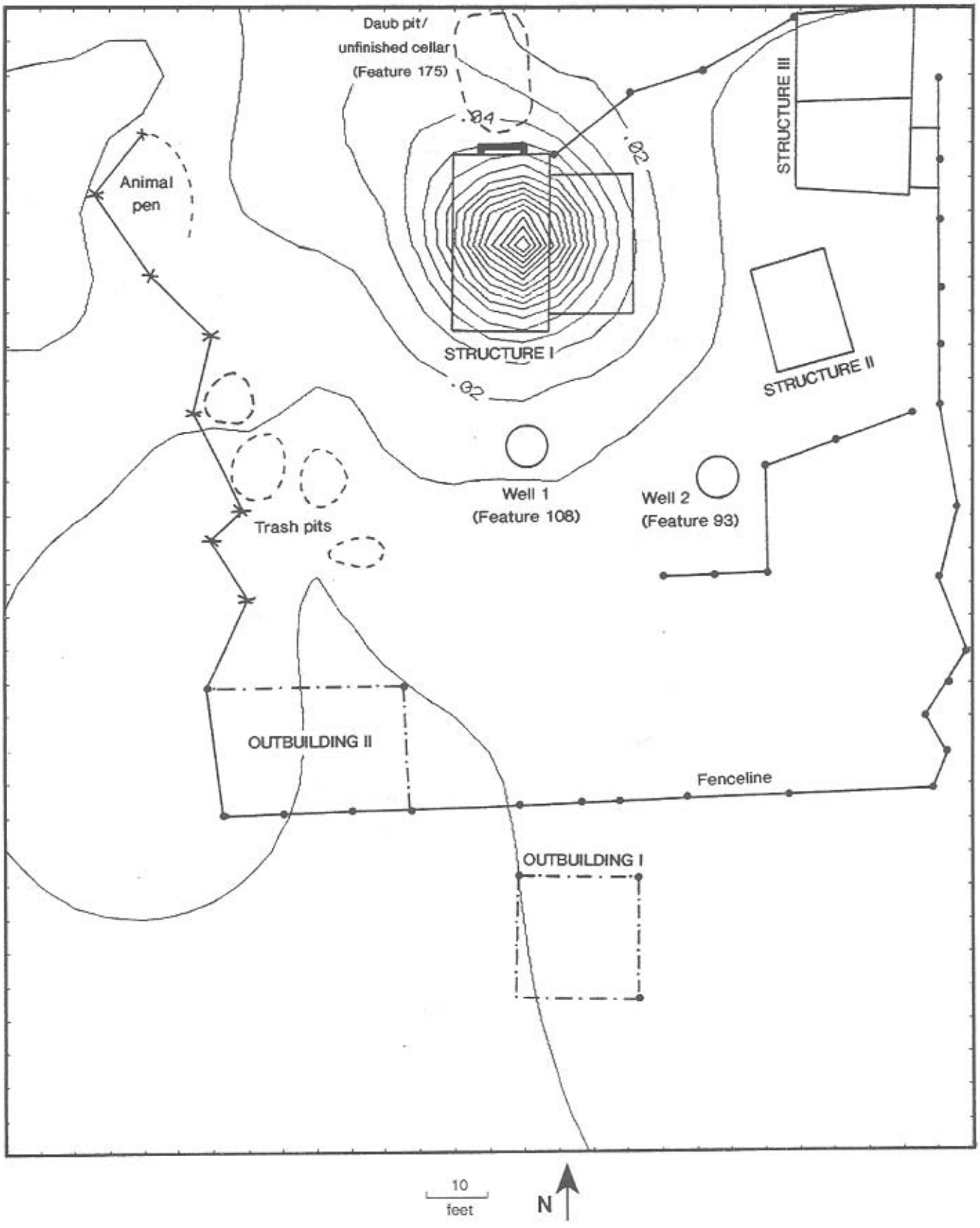


FIGURE 42

Distribution of Gunflints in Plow Zone



Gunflint densities were plotted because Pogue (1988a) has suggested that gunflints can be used to indicate the locations of doors and windows, due to the fact that light was needed to illuminate gunflint production activities. Figure 42 illustrates the distribution of gunflints in the plow zone and shows that they are only found in the vicinity of Structure I, the main house. In this case, the gunflint distribution did not indicate doorways or windows, but does show that guns and gunflints were maintained only in the vicinity of the main house.

Soil Chemical Analyses

The analysis of the spatial distribution of various soil chemicals and chemical characteristics from plow zone and subsoil contexts at the Strickland Site was conducted because it has been shown that archaeologically-derived patterns or concentrations of certain soil trace elements can be correlated with the occurrence of specific activities that are reflective of site usage or human behavior (Sopko 1983:24-30; McManamon 1984; Custer et al. 1986; Pogue 1988b). Soil analysis can also be useful in determining intra-site activity areas, especially when used in conjunction with artifact distribution data from plow zone contexts. The result of soil analyses at several other sites in Delaware have proven the utility of this procedure (cf. Custer et al. 1986; Coleman et al. 1985; Shaffer et al. 1988:132-141; Catts and Custer 1990:180-190). At the William Strickland Plantation Site, soil samples from the plow zone were collected from each of the excavated test units, and from the subsoil in the larger 10 x 10-foot squares. This sampling method was used to determine to what degree the chemical patterning of the site had been altered due to subsequent agricultural fertilization. It has been shown at other sites (Shaffer et al. 1988; Catts and Custer 1990; Hoseth et al. 1990) that the subsoil sample is less likely than the plow zone sample to have been affected by post-occupational chemical contamination caused by fertilization. However, the plow zone sample may still retain high concentrations of the more stable elements such as calcium and phosphorous. Therefore, both sets of soil samples are used in this discussion.

The chemical analyses of the soils at the site were provided by the Soils Laboratory of the University of Delaware College of Agriculture. The soil samples were tested for the presence of potassium, phosphorous, magnesium, and calcium, which are termed macronutrients by soil scientists. The soil pH was also recorded. Since healthy plants require significant amounts of these macronutrients to survive, most soil testing laboratories test for their presence (Brady 1974:19-28; Pogue 1988b). Of the four macronutrients tested, the level of phosphates in site soils is the best indicator of human or animal activity, because phosphorous is a relatively stable chemical and is present in human and animal wastes and bone. In particular, high phosphate accumulation is caused by the deposition of human and animal urine, excrement, and organic refuse (Sjoberg 1976; Eidt 1977). Like phosphorous, calcium is a relatively stable element and will likely survive for long periods of time in soils. Calcium is a major component of bone and shell, and is also found in wood. Calcium found in large concentrations in soils could be indicative of several factors such as agricultural fertilization (liming with shells as well as crushed limestone), oyster and clam shell or bone deposition, or the presence of building materials, i.e., mortar, in soils.

Magnesium and potassium are not as stable in soils as calcium and phosphorous, and their presence in soils may be more dependent on microenvironmental factors (Pogue 1988b:3). The main element in wood is potassium, but some magnesium is present as well. Magnesium can also be related to calcium levels. High levels of potassium are the result of the deposition of wood ash, through surface burning, or through the dumping of fireplace or stove ashes.

Soil pH readings of 7.0 or greater are indicative of alkaline soils, and pH readings below 7.0 are acidic. In Delaware soil pH values are naturally acidic (Mathews and Lavoie 1970), and readings above 6.0 suggest agricultural fertilization (Custer et al. 1986).

Figure 43 shows the location of meaningful soil chemical concentrations at the site based on the plow zone and subsoil data. In some cases, the chemical distributions simply correlated with the biggest features. For example, the wells and the cellar hole of Structure I were the locations of relatively high pH (less acid soils) and calcium. These chemical concentrations simply show that there are lots of bones and shells in these features, and these kinds of data are not noted in Figure 43. Instead, the chemical distributions shown in Figure 43 are those which show patterns of spatial use, not archaeological feature presence.

There are two chemical concentrations in the northwest corner of the site. One concentration is phosphorous and calcium and falls in the vicinity of the possible animal pen. The association of these two chemicals with organic refuse, including urine and feces seems to confirm the identification of an animal pen in this area. The magnesium concentration west of the western fenceline, outside the site, may be related to an "over the fence" refuse disposal area. Another phosphorous concentration is present in the vicinity of Structure II and may be related to the deposition of wood and bone associated with the smokehouse function assigned to this structure. Concentrations of phosphorous and magnesium in the southeast corner of the site may be indicative of the location of another animal pen, or may be a general refuse disposal area. A concentration of ceramics was present in the plow zone in this area (Figure 41) and this fact would suggest that a generalized refuse disposal area, or perhaps a garden, is the more likely alternative.

Site Interpretations

By combining all of the historical and archaeological data presented so far in this report, an image of the William Strickland Plantation Site at the middle of the eighteenth century can be discerned. Using the research theme of landscape, interpretations concerning the site's architecture, fencelines, trash pits, gardens, fields, and forests, and how these items are arranged on the land, can be formulated. The research theme of domestic economy can be used to address questions of consumer behavior, household production goals and strategies, and the composition and structure of the family or household group itself. Neither of these research themes, as presented here or in the State Plan (De Cunzo and Catts 1990), are independent of the other. Rather, both interrelate and inform each other at several points.

Landscape. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the Strickland Plantation on the "Pairman's Choice" tract may have been occupied for nearly thirty years. The farmstead itself was located on the southern exposure of a small rise (Figure 44) in the northern third of the 223-acre parcel, a section of the tract that, in the words of a contemporary surveyor, "hath been long clear'd and much worn." If the farmstead was typical of others along the Delaware, approximately 1/3 of the total acreage would have been cleared and in agricultural production. Newspaper advertisements dating between 1728 and 1764 for properties in New Castle and Kent counties suggest that the average farm cleared about 30% of its holdings, leaving the rest in woodlands, meadow, or marsh. The portions of "Pairman's Choice," located south of Whitehall Landing road, were recorded as "Good Land," and Strickland and his slaves were probably planting some parts of this area in wheat, corn, timothy (for forage), and rye. These

FIGURE 43

Soil Chemical Distributions

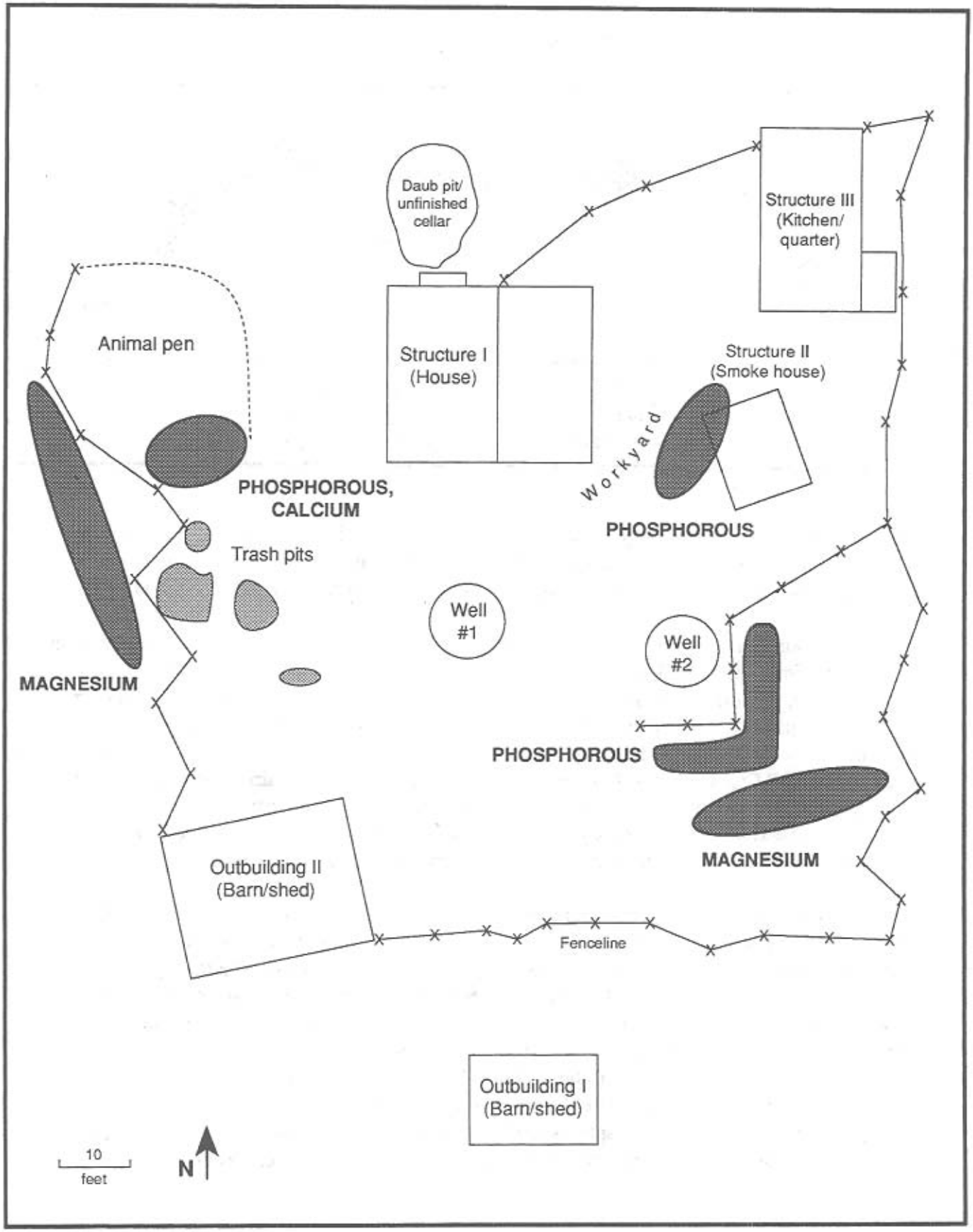
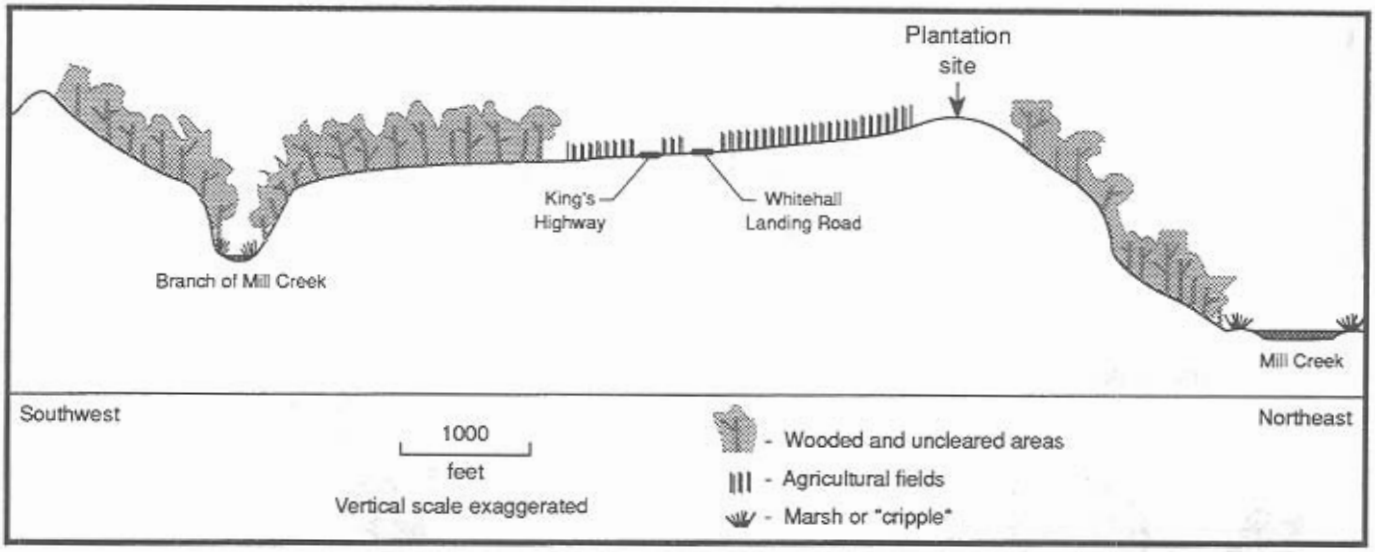


FIGURE 44

Topographic Transect Across the William Strickland Property ca. 1750



crops were listed in his inventory, and their presence supported archaeologically by the wheat and timothy recovered from flotation samples taken from Strickland's well. Figure 44 shows the likely location of these agricultural fields on a topographic cross-section, or transect, of the property.

The "Pairman's Choice" tract settled on by William Strickland and his family extended inland over one mile from Mill Creek (or Gravelly Branch). The tract included woods, marsh and "cripple" along the creek, termed "poor land" in 1745, and rose sharply from the drainage, with one small 40-foot hill, containing the farmstead, and the northern tip of a ridge along the eastern edge of the property, extending below the Whitehall Landing Road. From this slight ridge, the land sloped away gradually to a branch of Mill Creek near the southern edge of the tract, then rose again to form another small rise beyond the run, a 44-foot hill marking the highest point on the property (Figure 44). The entire farmstead consisted of Sassafras sandy loam, the best agricultural soils in Duck Creek Hundred in the eighteenth century, and is still high-quality, though eroded, farmland (Mathews and Ireland 1971).

The vast majority of this tract at the time of Strickland's ownership would have been woodland (Figure 44). The corner-marked trees for the "Pairman's Choice" tract indicate that this portion of the Coastal Plain was covered with an oak-hickory forest, a common occurrence throughout the middle Atlantic region (Silver 1990:7-34). Trees represented by Strickland's survey, and other deed descriptions for the area, included Spanish oaks, red oaks, white oaks, hickories, walnut, maple, chestnut, poplar, and beeches. Forests were still plentiful at mid-century, but by the beginning of the 1800s the effects of deforestation were evident, despite James Tilton's glowing description of forests "lofty and fine" in the state (Bausman and Munroe 1946). Corner-marked trees described as "ancient" a generation earlier were replaced first by stumps and saplings, and later by stakes and stones, as increasing agricultural use and woodland depletion took their toll on the region's forests (cf. Grettler 1990).

Housing at the Strickland Plantation was of both the earthfast variety, along with perhaps wooden block, brick pier, or shallow brick foundation construction. Two buildings, Structure I and Structure III (the dwelling and kitchen/quarter, respectively), dominated the workyard. Figure 45 shows a reconstructed "birds eye" view of the site and Figure 46 provides a guide to the structures and landscape features noted in the following discussion. (Attachment I may also be use as a more detailed guide). The dwelling house (Structure I) had little remaining archaeologically to identify it. The chimney pile (at the north end of the building) is conjectural and there were only a few posts, two small storage pits, and the large cellar to archaeologically document the presence of a structure. Approximate dimensions of this building were 24 x 16 feet. It is likely that Structure I was constructed of log or frame. It was certainly not built of brick, due to the small amount of brick fragments recovered from the plow zone and from within the cellar. Based on the work of Herman (1987) and other architectural historians, the Strickland family dwelling house may have been laid out as either a hall-plan with one room, or as a hall-parlor plan with two-rooms. The listing in William Strickland's inventory of an "outward room" with a curtained bed and bedstead suggests that the latter is more accurate. The small number of post-in-ground supports for this building suggest that it may have rested on wooden piers, or perhaps a shallow brick foundation. Foundation construction of this type was not unknown in the region at this time, and subsequent farming and plowing of the site could have easily obliterated the evidence for the foundation.

Structure III, the kitchen/quarter, was of earth-fast construction. Measuring 15 x 25 feet with posts set on approximately 8- to 12-foot centers, the building seems to have consisted of two rooms, not unlike the hall-parlor plan of Structure I. A wood and daub chimney stack may have been located off of the eastern side of the southern room of the kitchen/quarter. The post hole features in this area contained burned brick fragments.

In the vicinity of the kitchen/quarter, artifact distributions in the plow zone, particularly of porcelains and redwares, focused at the southern end of the building. In contrast, and somewhat surprisingly, the same varieties of ceramic were recovered from Feature 147, the cellar in the dwelling house. This patterning suggests that at some time both structures served the Strickland household for the same purpose, and is not the pattern that would be expected at a site where there was a detached kitchen structure.

The archaeological agreement between the two buildings can be explained in reference to the historical development of the Strickland Plantation on "Pairman's Choice." The historic record indicates that William Strickland arrived in Duck Creek Hundred about 1726, and apparently became a squatter on the land soon after that date. The extensive research by historians, archaeologists, and architectural historians in the Chesapeake region has suggested that the construction of earthfast dwellings was an "impermanent" development on the part of the first settlers that, with time, would be remedied with other, more substantial and permanent, construction (Carson et al. 1981). Perhaps William Strickland followed this process of development in Delaware, by constructing a more or less "impermanent" post-in-ground two room structure - Structure III, (the kitchen/quarter) that served all of the multiple functions of dwelling, kitchen, storehouse, and home for his wife and family. This structure, along with the associated smokehouse (Structure II), and perhaps some other outbuildings, constituted the Strickland farm until circa 1745-1748. At that time, Strickland received the initial patent for his 223-acre tract, having waited five years since being awarded a warrant by the Pennsylvania Land Commission. With

FIGURE 45

Reconstructed View of the William Strickland Plantation Site, circa 1750

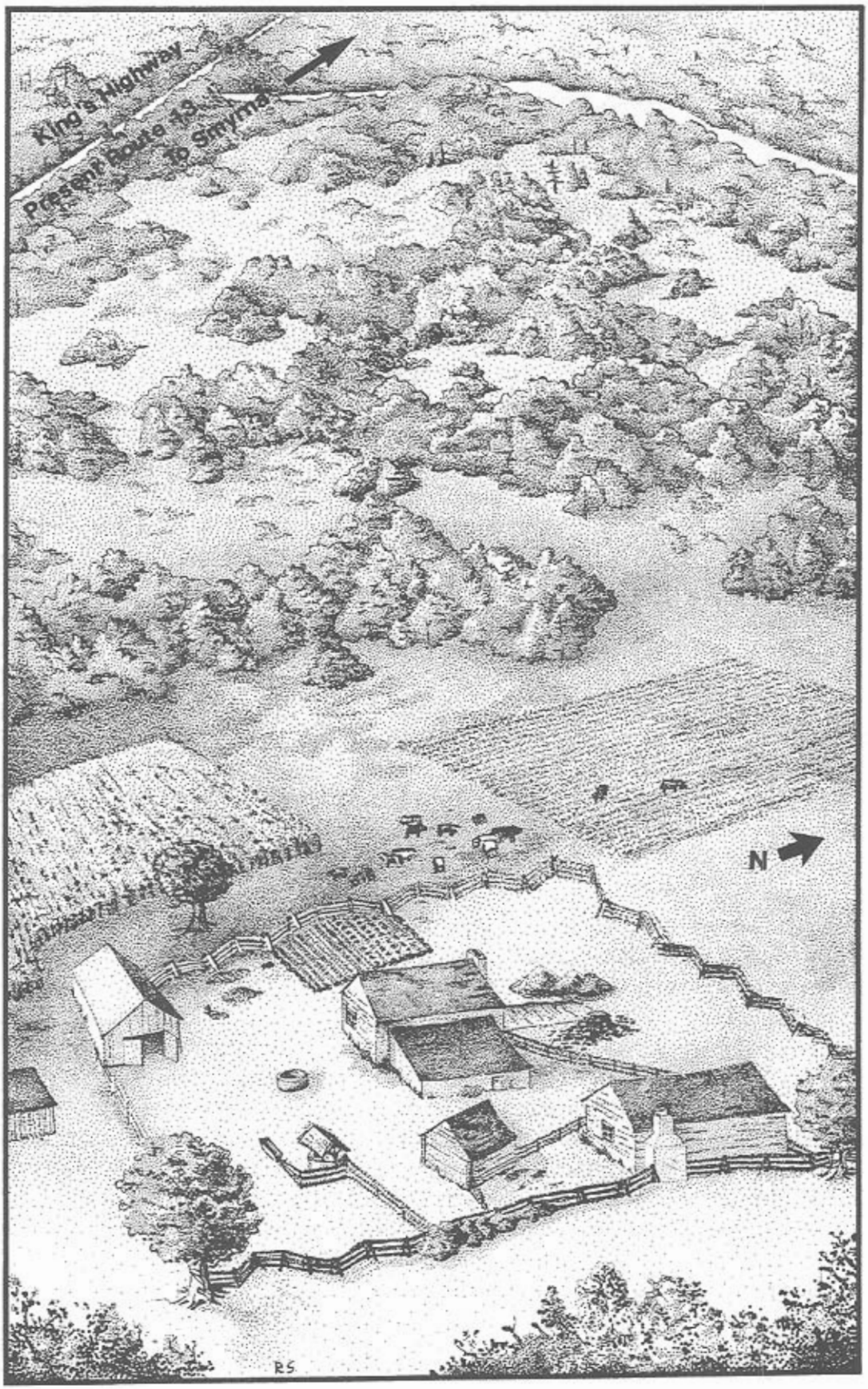
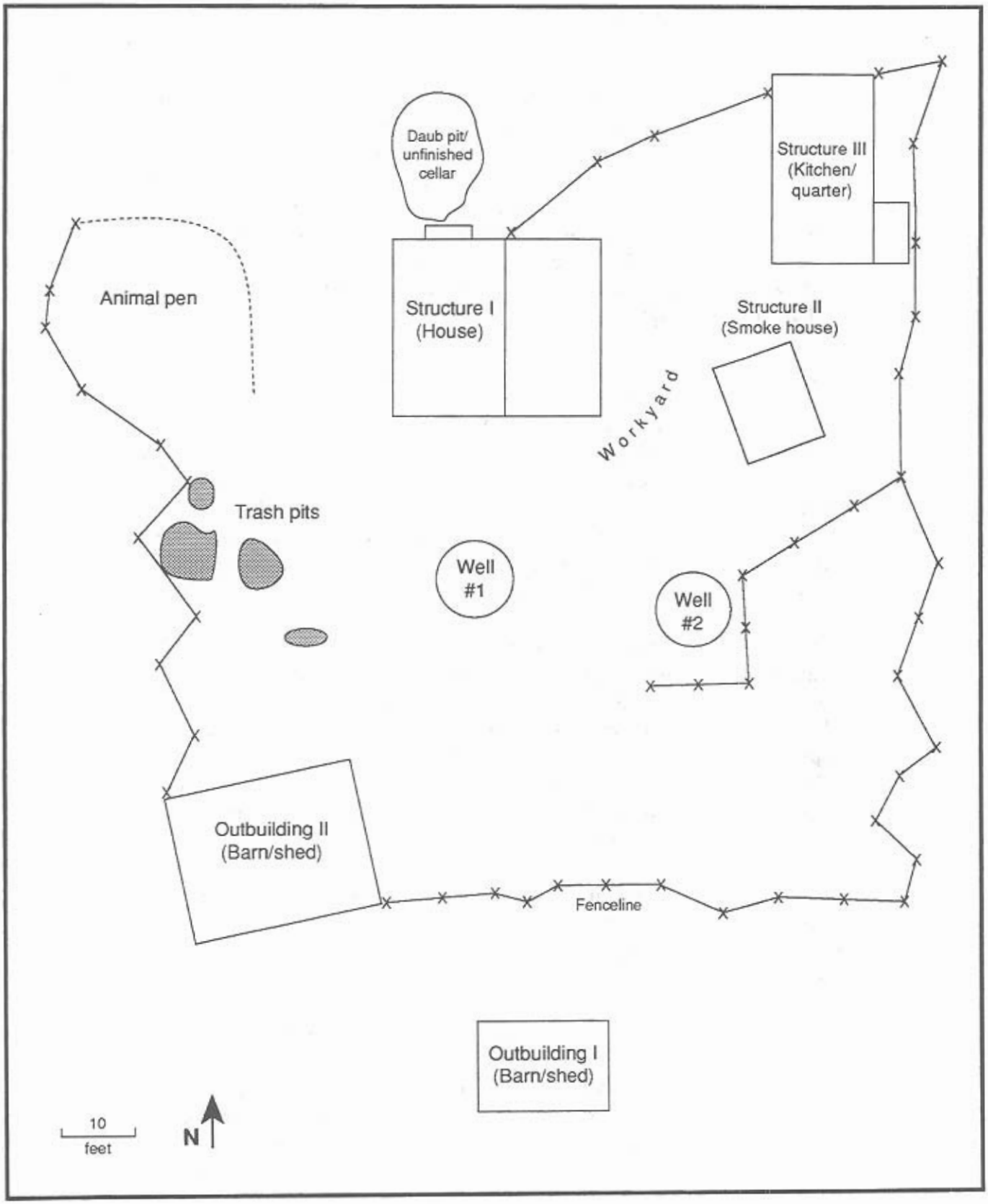


FIGURE 46

Guide to Buildings and Landscape Features at the William Strickland Plantation Site



his patent in hand, Strickland constructed a second, larger, and slightly more permanent dwelling (Structure I) to the west of his first house. The second house probably sat on a brick foundation, and may have had a shed addition.

In 1752, just a year and a half before his death, Strickland received a second warrant for the land. By this time in his life, he was rated in the top 10% of Duck Creek Hundred's taxables, was a member of the local Anglican Church, and held a large livestock herd and three slaves. While his prominence in local society and material wealth therefore seemed assured, his plantation house may not have been as impressive and indicative of his rank in society as would be expected. The awarding of the second, and presumably, permanent warrant for the land may have prompted William Strickland to begin construction of an addition north of his newer dwelling house, one more in keeping with his rank and status. The large, remarkably regular pit, noted as a daub pit/unfinished cellar in Figure 46 and located immediately north of Structure I, may be the physical remains of this construction. This feature may represent the archaeological evidence for an incomplete cellar hole, the beginnings of a new addition that, when completed, would have doubled the size of Strickland's house, and coincidentally would have made it more Georgian in plan.

Although the archaeological evidence is admittedly scanty, the documentary evidence provided by Strickland's inventory supports this interpretation. The estate inventory recorded that Strickland had on hand "some Bricks and Lime" valued at four pounds sterling, a sizable amount of building material. Just how much this amount of brick and lime was worth was also indicated in the inventory. Strickland had four yearling calves and one "horse colt" also valued at four pounds, or an equivalent of one-quarter of Strickland's "parcel of Corn in Ear," valued at 16 pounds. The addition for Strickland's dwelling was not built, probably due to his death in the winter of 1753. The large, partially-dug cellar hole remained open and, due to the presence of wild millet in the flotation sample, apparently held water until it was infilled with materials and debris from the dwelling house and surrounding yard.

There were several outbuildings associated with the Strickland farm. The dwelling house (Structure I) and kitchen/quarter (Structure II) formed the west and east sides of a roughly triangular space, with the smokehouse (Structure II) constituting the southern side. Highest densities of artifacts (e.g. Figure 41) found during the plow zone sampling were recovered from this "workyard" (Figure 46), and the space is fairly free of any cultural features, such as post molds (Attachment I). To the southwest of the smokehouse were two wells, one brick-lined, and one apparently wood-lined. These features were also in the workyard of the farm, and were themselves bounded by a post-in-rail fence that delineated and divided the space from the outer yard.

To the southwest of the dwelling house were located several discrete trash or rubbish pits sited along the worm, or "staked and ridered" fence bordering the west side of the farmstead. There may also have been a garden or animal pen, defined by a fence and gate, located directly west of the dwelling house. High calcium and phosphate levels, and low artifact densities marked this area.

It appears from the archaeological evidence that any place beyond the immediate vicinity of the farm complex, or approximately 40 feet or more away, was a likely place for garbage dumping at the William Strickland Plantation Site. All of the features, including the wells, trash pits, and fencelines, were located at least 40 feet from the buildings, and high concentrations of artifacts, faunal remains, phosphates, potassium, and calcium were located in these areas. The immediate spaces around the dwelling and kitchen/quarter were kept comparatively cleaner, with the exception of the area just to the

south of the kitchen/quarter and east of the smokehouse. This area contained considerable numbers of plow zone artifacts and had a high concentration of phosphorous in the soils, and may have served as a pen or disposal area for the kitchen.

The outer yard was located beyond the 40-foot line, and may have contained at least one outbuilding (Outbuilding II - Figure 46). Located in the southwest corner of the farmstead, the archaeological evidence for a building here is weak. Although the post hole patterns suggest a structure, there were no artifact concentrations or soil chemical concentrations of any kind in this area. If there was a structure here, it may have been some type of open-sided barrack or shed for cattle, or more likely a storage shed for grain.

The outer yard, located between the trash pits, wells, and inner fenceline, was itself bounded by a post-in-rail fence to the south and east of the farmstead, and by a "staked and ridered" or worm fence to the west. Beyond this fence and 80 feet south of the dwelling house was the location of another outbuilding (Outbuilding I - Figure 46). Like the above mentioned Outbuilding II, no high artifact densities or soil chemical concentrations mark this area, although there are several well-defined, large post holes, which suggest again the location of an agriculturally-related building, perhaps a grain storage structure. This building is in line with the dwelling house, and the archaeological evidence suggests that a gate may have existed in the southern fenceline directly north of Outbuilding I.

The 1764 division of the property between William Strickland's heirs, and the subsequent sale of the land to Thomas Cahoon (Rachel Strickland's second husband), created a 49.5-acre parcel with a "niche" along its western edge. This "niche" was surveyed to measure 6 x 13 perches, or 99 x 214.5 feet, and contained the remains of the William Strickland Plantation buildings. The length of the southern post-in-rail fence that was discovered during the excavations was approximately 99 feet from the eastern present-day property line, then turned north and extended about 130 feet to the edge of excavation. Thus, the Phase III testing identified a portion the 6 x 13-perch "niche" established in 1764. Overall, about 60% of the total area of the "niche" was excavated, or 12,870 square feet out of 21,235.5 square feet. The remaining 40% of the "niche" was apparently located north of the farmstead complex, on the opposite, or northeast side, of the small topographic rise on which the farmstead was located.

The William Strickland Plantation at mid-century seems to have been a compact cluster of buildings, wells, and rubbish pits, including a new dwelling house, an older post-in-ground kitchen/ quarter, a smokehouse, garden, pens, and perhaps two agricultural outbuildings (Figure 45). Flotation samples taken from the deep features at the site suggest that much of the workyard contained weeds and grasses, such as crabgrass, lambsquarter, pigweed, rye-grass, wormweed, tarweed, and purslane. With the exception of a peach pit, nut, and salmonberry (a type of raspberry), no tree seeds or nuts were identified, suggesting that the yard area at least was devoid of tree cover. The peach pit could indicate the presence of an orchard on the property, a common occurrence on eighteenth century Delaware farms, based on analysis of property advertisements in the **Pennsylvania Gazette** (Catts, Hodny, and Custer 1989). Peaches were also a favorite food of at least some colonial Delawareans for, Caesar Rodeney reports consuming thirty peaches at one sitting in 1727 (Hancock 1962a:52).

Raspberries and other berries were also commonly collected in the area, and may have come from the forested shores of Mill Creek. Caesar Rodeney's diary records several berry picking expeditions focused on huckleberries and cherries. Beyond the fences of the Strickland farm, the cattle, hogs, and

sheep roamed freely. The presence of a "staked and ridered," or worm, fence on the western side of the farmstead suggests that this side of the farmstead needed protection from the destructive rooting and digging of free-ranging swine. William Strickland's livestock had no boundaries beyond the limits created by the farm complexes fences, designed to keep them **out**, not **in**, and foraged on the marsh grasses, acorns, and hickory nuts of the deciduous forest surrounding the plantation. Rodeney's diary (Hancock 1962a) and other contemporary ethnographic statements (Jordan 1915; Logan 1912), indicated that once a year the cattle were rounded up for market and driven overland to New Castle or Wilmington. The King's Highway, located about 1000 feet west of Strickland's farm, served as the main transportation artery for the drovers extending from Lewes in the south to the Delaware-Pennsylvania line north of Wilmington, and connected Strickland with Dover and the nearby village of Duck Creek. Connection with the Eastern Shore of Maryland, Strickland's region of origin, was enabled by the road leading west out of Duck Creek Village, across the Delmarva Peninsula, and into Chestertown, a deep water port on the Chester River. River connections ran in the opposite direction as well. Crossing Strickland's property about 500 feet south of his plantation was the Whitehall Landing Road which extended eastward to the landing and provided a water route to the Delaware River and the urban center of Philadelphia.

Thus, though sparsely settled, Duck Creek Hundred in 1750 was not isolated from the markets of Wilmington and Philadelphia, and perhaps to a lesser extent the Chesapeake, and the latest items of consumption and fashion quickly reached the backcountry farmers like William Strickland and his household. The level of involvement in the regional market can best be viewed through the research perspective of domestic economy.

Domestic Economy. Issues of household consumption, consumer behavior, and household composition can best be addressed through the material remains associated with the William Strickland Plantation Site, particularly those artifacts recovered from the features excavated at the site. At the time of his death, the Strickland household was made up of William, his wife Rachel, their infant daughter Rachel, and three slaves, Andrew, Boston, and Nan. Archaeological evidence that can be ascribed to any of these individuals is sparse, and the documentary evidence, particularly the inventory of 1754, is the best source of information regarding the household. For example, the slaves have no definite material remains associated with their presence. No artifacts such as colonoware ceramics that could be, or would be, used exclusively by African-Americans were recovered. Stated another way, there were no artifacts found that **couldn't** have been used by the slaves Boston, Andrew, and Nan, as well as by any other member of the household. In this respect, Strickland's slaves may have been integral members of his household, although the presence of the kitchen/quarter would indicate that there was clearly segregation, and the listing of a "Negro collar" in the inventory illustrates the power relationships at work on the plantation.

Contemporary ethnographic documents describe the presence of African-Americans in colonial Kent County society. In Sussex County in 1728, Reverend William Beckett estimated that there were 241 Negroes, including both free and slave, and William Logan noted in 1745 that traveling in Kent and Sussex counties, "you see more Mulattos than any other color," and during the trip he met an "Impudent Negro Woman" at Appoquinimink Bridge, the name by which the town of Odessa was known at that time (Hancock 1962b:141; Logan 1912). Rodeney's journal describes the purchasing of two slaves, Toney and Doll, in the spring of 1728, soon after Rodeney's marriage and acquisition of a new dwelling. Rodeney's concern with his investment, probably more than any interest in humanity, is illustrated by his trip to Pencader Hundred to purchase medicines for Toney later that year (Hancock 1962a:61,64).

By mid-century, many of the Negroes in Delaware may have been newly imported and enslaved, since the Lower Counties were still comparatively under-populated and in need of a labor force. The Reverend Philip Reading reported in 1748 about the "truly deplorable" condition of Negroes in his parish of Appoquinimink in regard to their spiritual well being, citing the prejudices of the masters, the difficulty of conversing with the Negroes themselves ("they have a language peculiar to themselves, a wild confused medley of Negro and corrupt English"), and the prejudice of the slaves themselves towards conversion ("those born in Guinea are strangely prepossessed in favour of superstition and idolatry") (Hancock 1963:351).

Strickland's slaves were apparently Anglicized, though the slave collar suggests that there may have been discipline problems. Three slaves was fairly typical for a Kent County slaveholder. The inventory sample prepared by Bushman and Hawley (1987) indicates some estates with ten to twenty slaves residing in distinct quarters, while other estates had only one or two Negro bondspersons.

The presence of William, Rachel and their infant daughter are also difficult to identify archaeologically. Doubtless all of the material remains recovered, from the iron nails, hoe blades, pewter utensils, and thimbles to the Anna Regina stoneware jug (Plate 12) and the rack of deer antlers drilled for display and hanging on a wall (Plate 31), are fully representative of the everyday life of the Strickland family. Specific artifacts, however, are elusive, and it is the unusual artifact that deserves mention. Evidence of the infant daughter Rachel is provided in the inventory by the listing of a "sucking bottle," and a small redware mush cup, used for feeding an infant, and two small redware cups (Plate 20), were recovered from Feature 147, the cellar inside of the dwelling house (Structure I).

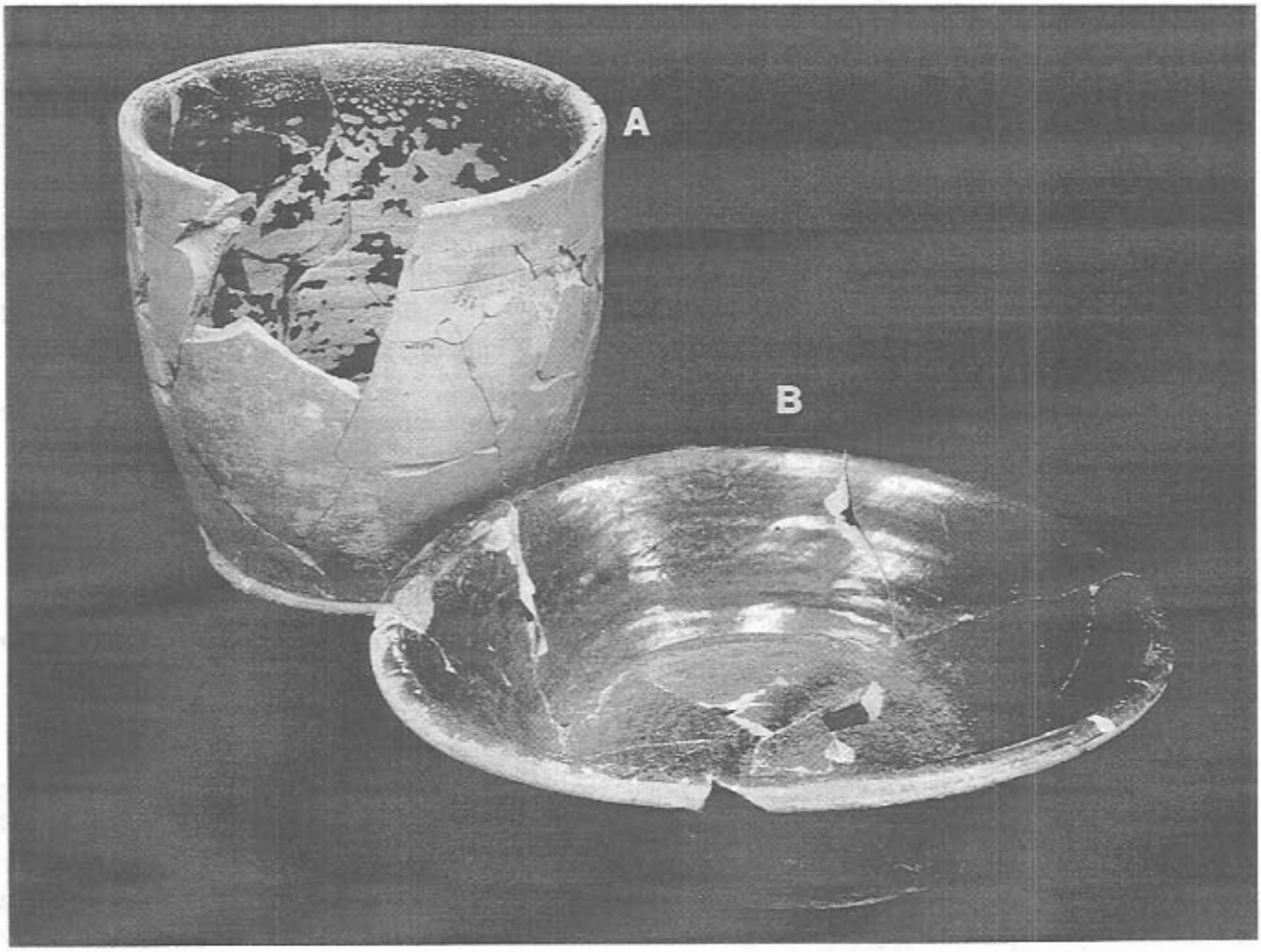
It is quite clear from the faunal remains collected from the smokehouse cellar, the well, and the dwelling house cellar, that livestock production constituted a major investment in time and energy at the Strickland farm. The domestic varieties of cow, pig and sheep were abundantly represented. Wild species, such as deer, are present but constitute a very small fraction of the food sources. Contemporary statements about diet and subsistence in Kent County indicate that hunting and fishing supplemented the foodways of the inhabitants. But the data from this site shows that these activities made a very small contribution to colonial diets. Oysters also complemented the diet and may have been gathered locally in the tidal creeks. However, these shellfish were also only a minor component of the Strickland family's diet and almost all of their protein came from home-raised beef and pork.

Besides livestock production "on the hoof," the archaeology of the Strickland farmstead revealed the great extent and involvement of the Strickland women, both white and black, in the production and marketing of dairy products, an occupation that in the mid-eighteenth century was almost exclusively undertaken by women (Jensen 1986; Yentsch 1991). This aspect of household production is clearly seen in the number of milk pans and butter pots recovered from the features at the site (Plate 36). Redware vessels associated with dairying accounted for over one-third of the total vessel count. Numbers of this magnitude suggest that the female occupants of the site, Rachel Strickland and her daughters, and Nan the slave, were actively involved in the production of dairy products, and perhaps were marketing their butter in Duck Creek Village, Dover, or Wilmington.

Joan Jensen's (1986) research on colonial southeastern Pennsylvania and New Castle County, has shown that by the middle of the eighteenth century, farm women were making a significant contribution to the income derived through butter, milk and cheese production, allowing them, in her interpretation, to become more independent of their husbands' economic control. While her interpretation

PLATE 36

Redware Vessels Associated with Dairy Activities



A: Vessel C26 (redware butter pot)--Feature 147 B: Vessel C2 (redware milk pan)--Feature 108 1 inch 2 cm

could be disputed, the conclusion that dairy production was important in home manufacturing cannot, and the material culture evidence recovered from the Strickland features suggests that the women of this frontier farm were involved in the dairying trade. Thirty years later, James Tilton remarked that, regarding foodways and the diet of Delawareans, "Butter is much used here, especially at breakfast; cheese but little" (Bausman and Munroe 1946:186).

The degree of involvement of the Strickland household in the regional marketing economy can be addressed to some extent by considering the artifacts that conveyed some level of status recovered archaeologically, or listed in Strickland's inventory. Probably the best example of status symbol present in the material culture of the site was the large number of teawares that were found. Teawares recovered from excavated features totaled thirty-four minimum vessels. Vessel forms included three teapots (one Littler's Blue, one refined red earthenware, and one white salt-glazed stoneware), 21 teacups (Plate 18), and 10 saucers. These last two categories included white salt-glazed, scratch blue, debased scratch blue, Chinese and Imari porcelain, and one, probably locally produced green-glazed "chalky white paste" cup.

Teawares and the ceremony of tea drinking, along with coffee and chocolate consumption, had become well-established rituals in the Delaware Valley by the middle of the eighteenth century. Recent research by Anna Hawley, using a sample of Kent County Delaware inventories dating between 1727 and 1767, has indicated that by 1750 over 60% of the inventories sampled contained teawares (Hawley 1987; see also Yentsch 1978). Travelers' accounts from Kent County during the early eighteenth century record the presence of tea, chocolate, and coffee, and suggest their widespread use throughout all levels of society. Peter Kalm, for example, reported in 1748 that "tea, coffee, and chocolate constitute even the country people's daily breakfast" (Benson 1937:195). On a trip from Philadelphia to Georgia in 1745, William Logan's journal suggests that chocolate was often served at breakfast, and tea to a lesser extent. For instance, at "Skidmores," possibly in lower Kent County, Logan "supp'd & Breakfasted the next Morning on Vile Chocolate which did not Agree with me" (Logan 1912:2). Rodris Roth's (1988) work indicates that during the Revolutionary War tea drinking became unfashionable, but after the war, tea, coffee and chocolate again became popular beverages with all ranks of society in Delaware, much to James Tilton's disgust. "There is also an excessive use of tea & coffee in this state," wrote Tilton. "Every housekeeper that can afford it, breakfasts upon one or the other; and the genteel people generally indulge in the parade of tea, in the afternoon" (Bausman and Munroe 1946:186).

The inventory of William Strickland's estate, recorded in December of 1753, lists the teawares in the household at that time. Strickland had five pounds, four shillings and six pence invested in teawares of all kinds, including "a Tea Kettle, Chaffing Dish & Gridiron," "6 Silver teaspoons," "old silver," a Tea Table, and "Tea Ware & some Bowles" (Appendix I). In her study of the tea ceremony in America, Roth (1988) has indicated the well-equipped tea table would have included "a teapot, slop bowl, container for milk or cream, tea canister, sugar container, tongs, teaspoons, and cups and saucers" (Roth 1988:447). Added to these items should be table linens and napkins, both of which were listed in the Strickland inventory. As described by the inventory, the Strickland family's tea table was lacking several of these features, notably the tongs, tea and sugar containers, and the tea itself. It is possible that Rachel Strickland had already removed her widow's dower from the estate when it was inventoried, accounting for the lack of certain categories of teawares and, incidentally, other items such as a tea cupboard, lighting devices, and candles. The research of Hawley (1987) and Walsh (1983) has shown that items such as teawares, tea furniture, linens, and lighting devices were interrelated as a group of luxury goods, and by the mid-eighteenth century the possession of any one of these artifacts increased the odds of ownership of additional related items.

All of the teawares present at the Strickland Plantation could have been purchased locally in Duck Creek. The contemporary observations of William Logan and James Tilton, noted above, are correct. Many of the local families, both rich and poor, contained tea equipage in their inventories. For example, the estate inventory of Joseph Dunn, who died in 1756, included "1/2 doz Silver Tea Spoons & Tea Tongs," "1/2 doz cracked Cups & Saucers," a pewter cream pot, two china bowls (one cracked), and a "large Tea cannister." Dunn's estate was valued at about 171 pounds, slightly less than William Strickland's. In contrast, Mary Carpenter's estate in 1754 was valued at less than 53 pounds, but it included a "Puter Tea Pot & Tea Ware," and legacies to her offspring including "1 Table & Tea Cettle" (Bushman and Hawley 1987).